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ABSTRACT

Focusing on the great convergence of Native Americans and Spaniards in the American Southwest introduces students to the indigenous Anasazi, the Spanish Colonists, and the ensuing conflict of cultures culminating with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. This unit is based on and uses primary resources taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers, and literature from the period being studied. It is designed to supplement texts that pay little or no attention to the Southwest region of the United States and makes clear that the Southwest had a complex history that antedated the arrival of English speaking people. The unit includes background materials that provide an overview, lesson plans, and student resources. (BT)

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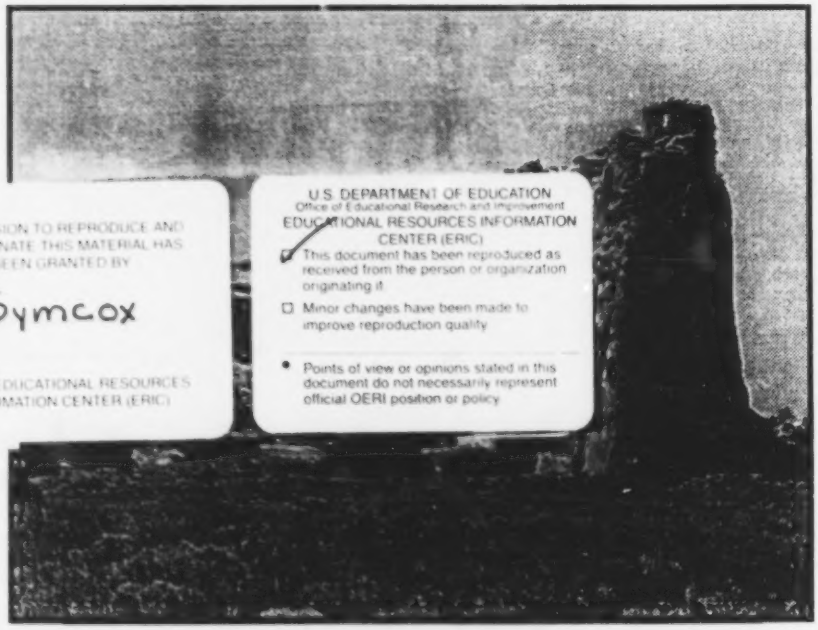
ED 429 002

# THE GREAT CONVERGENCE: THE PUEBLO AND SPANIARDS MEET

A UNIT OF STUDY FOR GRADES 8-12

By John Arevalo, James Drake,
Gloria Sesso and David Vigilante



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NATIONAL CENTER FOR HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS

*Linda Symcox, Project Developer & Series Editor*
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For information on additional teaching units and other resources from the Center, please write:

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## APPROACH AND RATIONALE

By Linda Symcox

The National Center for History in the Schools has developed the following collection of lessons for teaching **The Great Convergence: The Pueblo & Spaniards Meet.** Our units are the fruit of a year-long collaboration between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. They represent specific "**dramatic moments**" in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative.

In our approach, the continuing narrative provides the context in which the dramatic moment is situated. By studying a crucial turning-point in history the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were in result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Our dramatic moments are based on **primary sources,** taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers and literature from the period under study. As you know, a primary source is a **first-hand** account of any event in history. For example, the telecast or the script of a speech would be a primary source. A **secondary source** is a **second-hand** account of an event. This would be, for example, the newspaper account of the speech the next day or a newscaster's report about the speech. All historical accounts, such as

textbooks, are by their very naturesecondary sources. What we hope to achieve using pri-mary source documents in these lessons is to remove thedistance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to re-create for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

## CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) **Teacher Background Materials** and 2) **Lesson Plans** with **Student Resources.** This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. We have chosen to pitch the various lessons at the 8-12 grade level, but they can usually be adapted to a slightly higher or lower level.

The **Teacher Background** section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific **Dramatic Moment** to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The **Lesson Plans** include a variety of ideas and ap-

proaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, any hand-outs or student background materials, and in many cases, a bibliography for the unit.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories, and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction, rather than rote memorization.



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## Requierimiento

Spanish law required conquistadors to read a statement called "The Requirement" to the Indians they encountered. The text required Indians to recognize the authority of the Spanish crown and the Roman Pope, and to permit missionaries to instruct them in Christian belief. The Requirement, issued in 1513, remained part of Spanish law until it was withdrawn in 1573.

> *...[W]e ask and require you ... [to] acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen doña Juana our lords ... as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this terra firme ... that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you... . If you do so, you will do well and ... we in their names shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude. ... But if you do not do this, and wickedly and intentionally delay to do so ... with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do all the harm and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. ...*

Arthur Helps, The Spanish Conquest in America and Its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies, Vol. 1 (London; 1900), pp 264-67.

## I. UNIT OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE

For years the history of the United States had been taught as the westward expansion of English-speaking peoples from the original thirteen British colonies to the Pacific Ocean. This approach incorrectly implied that Anglo-Americans encountered a near vacant land occupied by only a few scattered Native Americans and Mexicans. It also suggested that the English colonies provided the United States' only colonial origins, despite vast incursions by other European powers. In short, this view of U.S. history came from the point of view of the predominant culture, obscuring the rich fabric of our nation's origins.

This unit offers a more inclusive view of United States history by focusing on the great convergence of Native Americans and Spaniards in the American Southwest. The unit introduces students to the indigenous Anasazi, the Spanish colonists, and the ensuing conflict of cultures culminating with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. It is designed to supplement texts which pay little or no attention to the region and illustrate that the Southwest had a complex history which antedated the arrival of English speaking people.

The Spanish, extending their presence in the borderlands north of the Río Grande, established the town of Santa Fe in 1609, two years after the English founded Jamestown. Earlier exploration along the coast of California and overland expeditions from Mexico in the mid-sixteenth century had not led to rapid settlement of the are a as little tangible mineral wealth was discovered. Spain began a serious program of settlement in the seventeenth century which was halted by the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After abandoning the region for 13

years, Spaniards returned to reestablish their hold on New Mexico. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Spaniards and Mexicans migrated to these areas. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that Anglo Americans came to the region in large numbers. Clearly the region has a long and rich past predating its annexation by the United States.

The current character of the Southwest reflects this long and diverse heritage. Anglo-American conquest of the region in the mid-nineteenth century and the drawing of a political boundary between the United States and Mexico did not lessen Mexican or Native American influence. Native Americans and Mexican Americans still inhabit the region in large numbers, and their cultural legacy is readily visible. Therefore, one cannot fully understand the development of the Southwest's cultural character by studying it merely through the eyes of westward-expanding Anglo-Americans. Instead, students must scan a vast period of time to understand the origins of Southwestern culture.

## II. UNIT CONTEXT

This unit should be taught as part of an introductory study of the "great convergence" illustrating the influence of the Indian and Spanish heritage of the Southwest. It may be used to emphasize the diversity among Native American communities in the Southwest. It also serves as a focal point for examining the differing motives for colonization by using readings relating to the Spanish intrusion in the Southwest to supplement a study of English, French, and Dutch coloniza-

tion. The lessons in this unit enhance textbook approaches which traditionally concentrate on the eastern seaboard beginnings of the American nation.

The unit relies on both primary and secondary sources. Readings include a general survey of the Anasazi, excerpts from Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, accounts of the Coronado and Oñate expeditions, and documents relating to the Pueblo Revolt. Readings also explore official Spanish policy regarding the conversion and treatment of the Indians.

## III. CORRELATION TO NATIONAL STANDARDS

"The Great Convergence: The Pueblo and Spaniards Meet" provides teaching materials that address Eras 1 and 2 of the *National Standards for History, Basic Edition* (Los Angeles, National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Lessons in the teaching unit specifically address the differences and similarities between European and Native Americas (Eras 1 Standard 1D) and how Pueblo society changed as a result of expanding Spanish settlements (Era 2, Standard 1B).

This unit also addresses the five Historical Thinking Standards outlined in Chapter 2 of the *National Standards for History*. Lessons provide both primary and secondary source materials that challenge students to explain historical change and continuity; reconstruct the literal meaning of a historical passage; identify the purpose, perspective, and point of view of a document; draw evidence from historical maps and visual sources; assess the credibility of historical documents; compare and contrast differing sets of ideas and values; identify gaps in the available records; and formulate a position or course of action on an issue.

## IV UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To study historical documents in order to experience history as a dynamic discipline which examines, interprets, and debates different perspectives of various people and to analyze their motives, beliefs, interests, hopes, a nd fears.

2. To compare completing historical narratives to demonstrate how differing beliefs and points of view contribute to different interpretations.

3. To understand change and continuity and the dynamics of the interplay of individuals and groups promoting and resisting change.

## V. LESSONS

1. The Pueblo

2. Spanish Exploration and Settlement of the Southwest

3. The Pueblo Revolt and its Consequences.

## LESSON ONE

### The Pueblo

### A. Objectives

1. To topographical data to examine the physical and human characteristics of the Southwest and to explain how they shaped the region.

2. To examine basic features of Anasazi societies on the eve of European conquest and to recognize the diversity that existed among them.

3. To explain the relationship between the Anasazi and nomadic Indian societies in the region.

### B. Lesson Background

The Indians of the Southwest believed that their ancestors emerged from the underworld and wandered over the earth until they learned from the gods how to till the soil. Each of the Indian societies that settled in the region had different creation legends; however, they all shared a common tradition that life depended on wealth gleaned from the land. The peoples who established the great civilizations of the Southwest performed rituals during the growing season to celebrate the gifts from the earth and placed special importance to ceremonies associated with the sacred rains which nourished their crops. Cultivation of plants led to the establishment of large communities with huge buildings. On the other hand, the nomads of the Southwest foraged for game and, as winter approached, sought refuge in caves and rock shelters and often preyed on the established communities.

The Hakataya or Patayan east of the Colorado River

in southwestern Arizona, the Hohokam of the desert regions of southern Arizona, the Mogollon of the mountains of southern New Mexico, and the Anasazi of the plateau areas of the Four Corners (Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico) were among the diverse Native American cultures which flourished in the Southwest beginning about 300 BCE. Much of what we know about these ancient cultures is derived from archaeological evidence. The archaeological sites of Casa Grande (south of Phoenix, Arizona), the cliff palace of Mesa Verde (southwestern Colorado), the stone citadels of Chaco Canyon (northwestern New Mexico), and the Hohokam network of canals along the Salt and Gila Rivers (southern Arizona) all developed highly advanced civilizations.

Spanish explorers came into contract with the descendants of these people who were called "Ancient Ones" in the languages of the Pima, Navajo, and Yuma tongues. The Spanish referred to the Anasazi as "Pueblos"—the Spanish word for town—because they settled in towns rather than living nomadically. Yet the Pueblos, like Europeans, were far from being a single people. Each settlement constituted an independent village, and the culture of individual villages could vary dramatically. The Zunis that Coronado encountered in 1540 had a different language, belief system, and set of values than many of their neighbors. For example, the Zuni spoke Penutian, a language unintelligible to many along the Río Grande watershed who might speak Tiwa, Towa, or Tewa. Thus, Pueblo communities were heavily localized and diverse. Students should realize that while some Mesoamerican Indians had some written systems of communication, the sixteenth-century Pueblo left no written records. Spanish documents provide our only written descriptions of their early societies. Because historians often rely on written records to write the

history of a people, the lack of Pueblo-produced documents presents a challenge in historical research. Accordingly, students must learn to be sensitive to and analyze the biases of these documents rather than accepting them at face value.

## C. Lesson Activities

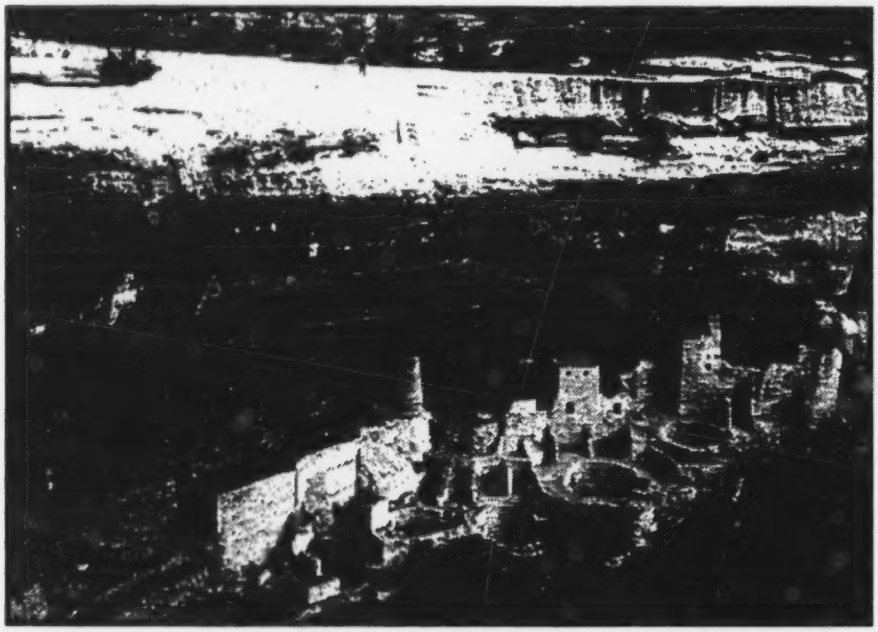
1. Divide the class into groups and have each cluster of students investigate maps and photographs depicting the physical geography of the region inhabited by the Pueblo.Use the photographs on the **Pictorial Evidence** sheets as a student handout or display on an overhead. Encourage students to use this evidence and other available data to form conclusions regarding the physical environment of the region. Use questions to focus group discussion, such as: How has geography affected the region? What accommodations would you have to make to adapt to or to change the physical environment?

2. Have students read ***A Pueblo Song of the Sky Loom*** **(Reading 1)** and explain the imagery created by the work. Ask students to list the key words that help them to generalize about what the Pueblo people value. What insight regarding the Pueblo can you gain from the poem?

3. Divide the class into groups of six to nine students. Subdivide each group into three clusters based on assigned readings: **"The Anasazi" (Reading 2)**; **"Pueblo World" (Reading 3)**; and **"Pueblo Government" (Reading 4)**. Using a jig-saw format, have each cluster of students report to the group so that students within each group become conversant with the three readings. Discuss the three readings within the group setting. Following discussion, as a class activity, construct a profile of Pueblo society. Use a variety of focus questions, such as: Who are the Pueblo? Do the Pueblos form a homogeneous society? How did they interact with other pueblos and with outsiders? What were the religious beliefs and values of Pueblo? What can you discern regarding the roles of individuals in Pueblo society?

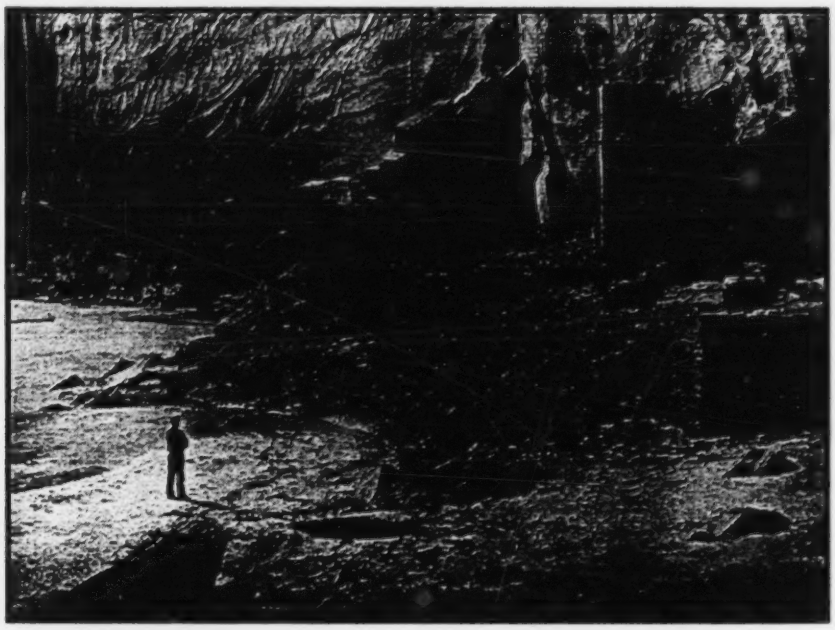
How did the Pueblo maintain order within their society? Since the Pueblo left no written records, what is the basis of our knowledge about the Pueblo before contact with Europeans?

4. Conclude the lesson by having students write an essay on the Pueblo and their way of life or create an exhibit depicting Anasazi life in a typical pueblo at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

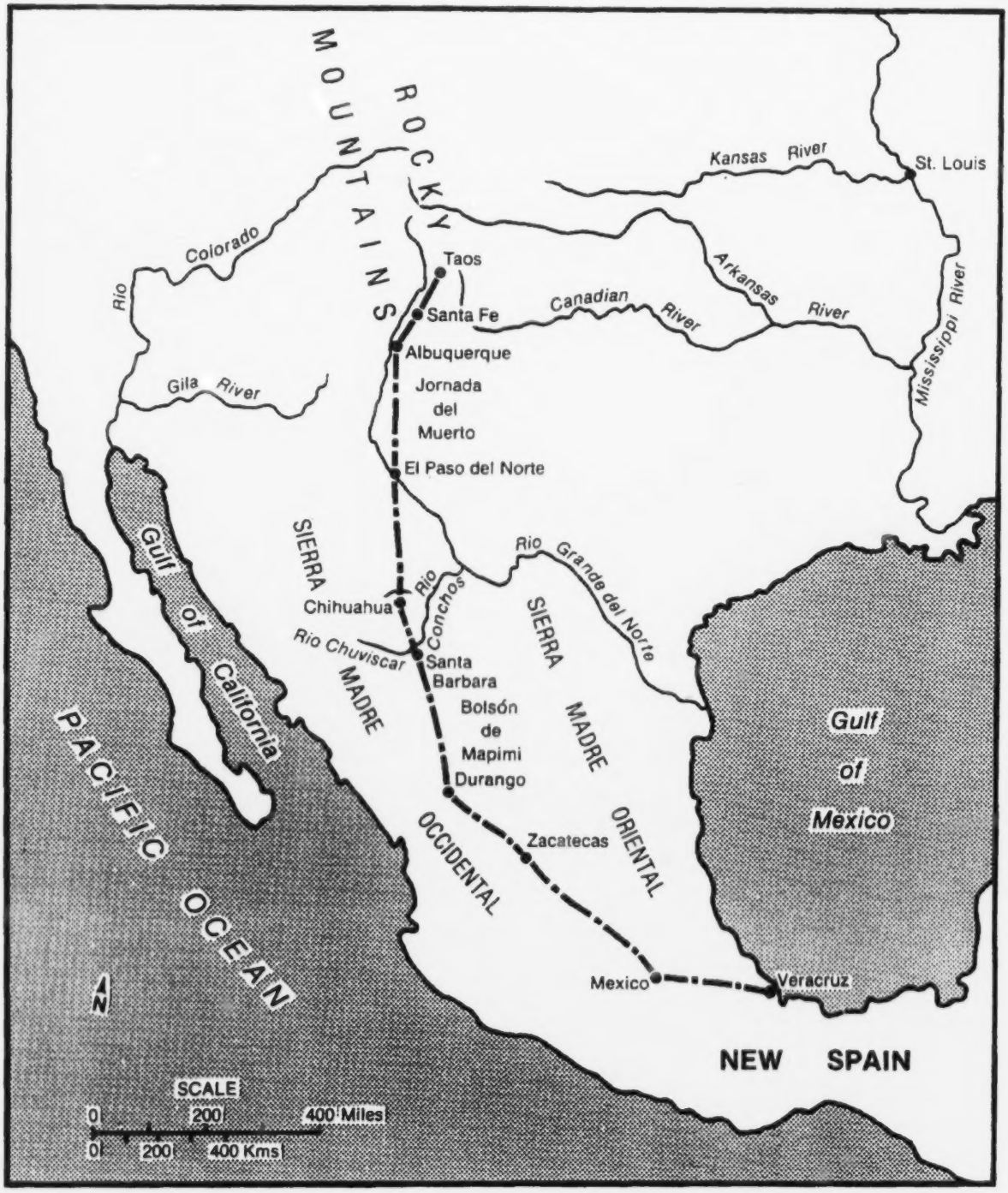


*Cliff Palace, Mesa Verde National Park*

*Casa Grande, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*



*Antelope House in Canyon del Muerto, Canyon de Chelly National Monument*




*The Central Camino Real or Royal Road of Spanish Mexico*

The Tewa were Pueblos who lived in five villages in the Rio Grande Valley northwest of Santa Fe. The following song was recorded and translated by an ethnologist for the American Museum of Natural History in the early 1900s. The chant is about a light desert rain which appears to resemble a loom in the sky. It was used as a chant or prayer for well-being.

*Song of the Sky Loom*
(Primary Source)

*Oh our Mother the Earth, oh our Father the Sky,*
*Your children are we, and with tired backs*
*We bring you the gifts that you love.*
*Then weave for us a garment of brightness;*
*May the warp be the white light of morning,*
*May the weft be the red light of evening,*
*May the fringes be the falling rain,*
*May the border be the standing rainbow.*
*Thus weave for us a garment of brightness*
*That we may walk fittingly where birds sing,*
*That we may walk fittingly where grass is green,*
*Oh our Mother the Earth, oh our Father the Sky!*

Songs of the Tewa, translated by Herbert Joseph Spinder (New York: Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, Inc. 1933), p. 94

**The Anasazi**
(Secondary Source)

*Pueblo is the classification given to the modern day Anasazi. The Spanish called the inhabitants of Southwest "Pueblo" because they lived in towns or pueblos.*

...Seen in close focus, a given Anasazi pueblo was a right little, tight little, closed little world, and years passed, sometimes a great many, while the people sang up the corn, called the rain with puffs of pipe smoke and clouds of eagle down, danced together with their mother the Earth, worked together, laughed together, gradually became grandparents and died and watched with their mountain mahogany faces through the unchanging masks of the dancing gods while their grandchildren gradually became grandparents—and nothing penetrated, nothing interrupted, nothing interfered.

...But seen from the long view, the Anasazi moved, merged, split, built and abandoned towns, appeared and disappeared from every direction. Strangers entered, and sometimes learned Anasazi ways and themselves became Anasazi—and sometimes did not. ...But the Anasazi world seems to have offered a happier way of life than most of its neighbors knew, and it expanded willy-nilly, naturalizing many varied groups of people.

Nonaggressive though this movement generally appears to be, there must have been contentions, with each other as well as with wandering people of the woods such as the Utes of the Colorado Rockies; the communal buildings were sometimes made as defendable as fortresses. But the more usual motive that put people in motion seems to have been the death of old fields through drought or erosion.

...In the canyons of the Chaco River (northwestern New Mexico) are the ruins of at least a dozen giant community houses. The best know of these, Pueblo Bonito, rose to five terraced stories, had more than 800 rooms and could have housed well over 1,000 inhabitants, and, like a medieval cathedral, was 150 years building, from the year 919 to 1067 (by tree-ring dates).

The people made feather cloth and colored cotton cloth—high-style sashes, masterfully designed, have been found in burial caves where they had kept

like new in the dry air of of Southwest: beautifully decorated pottery-although the finest, true works of art, come from a distinctly separate Pueblo-type people who lived far to the south, in the Mogollon mountains of southwestern New Mexico; and magnificent jewelry, particularly of turquoise-some necklaces contain thousands of worked stones.

Judging from the many ceremonial kivas and dance courts religion must have been a constant occupation, which is one of a number of indications that the congregations regarded it as fun as well as sacred duty. Constant sacred duty tends to become onerous, hence the usual necessity of high-powered high priests to keep enforcing it. But among the Pueblos...democracy ruled and there were no distinguishable high priests; distinguishable, that is, by any upper-class attributes. The highest-ranking theocrats were simple farmers like everybody else.

During the 13th century the pueblo world began to shrink in upon itself. The people drifted away from the great pueblos until many were left abandoned.

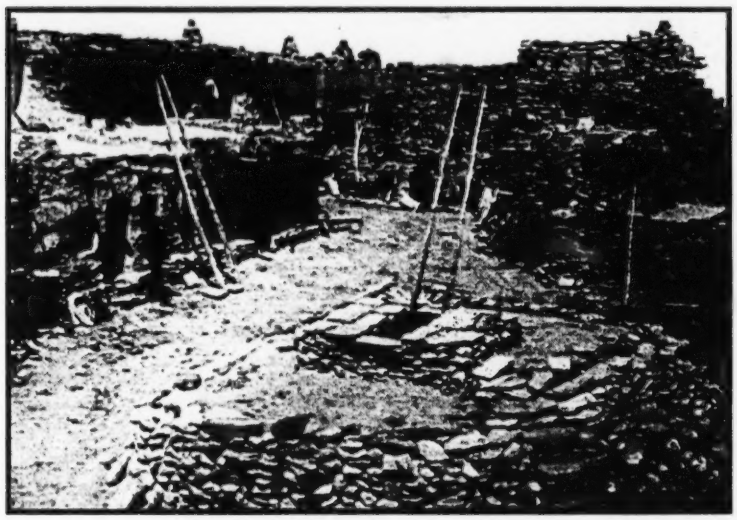
Tree rings tell of a long and murderous drought, a period of 23 almost utterly rainless years (1276-1299). This would seem to have been enough in itself to have filled the land with the dispossessed.

...A notion popular among some anthropologists is that the Great Pueblos grew too large for the pure Pueblo democracy, and the Pueblo people simply chose to stick with democracy and small towns.

...For the Pueblo world in general the center of things shifted a little southward, to the pueblos in the region of the upper Rio Grande River in New Mexico and scattered villages in the same latitude westward among the deserts and mesas into Arizona.

...The first rule of...living, above all, was everything in moderation; nothing too much. ...No excesses; industry, sobriety. But the women were expected to make a social bee of the never-ending community work of grinding corn, and the right way of doing things also demanded a man at the door of the grinding room, playing the grinding song on a flute.

Each gesture of living was an obeisance to living the right way, in unison with each other and with the past and with the rest of the living world, an acceptance of living, a reverence for living—in moderation. The Pueblos made a divinity of living, in moderation. ...



*Kiva*

William Brandon, The American Heritage Book of Indians (New York: Dell Publishing Col, Inc., 1968), pp. 111-117.

## Pueblo World

(Secondary Source)

...Compared with the camps of wandering Indians, pueblos were veritable citadels: multi-storied stone or adobe blocks of dwellings, centered upon the plazas where focused the community lives of populations ranging from four hundred to two thousand. The compact village structure lent itself not only to defense but to the cooperative way of life fundamental to Pueblo agriculture. The people of each village shared the labor of the fields and the religious observances they believed essential to their common enterprise. Together the people of the pueblos observed ceaseless rounds of inherited ceremonials to propitiate the ruling spirits of their universe. Properly done, these rituals assured the pleasant, orderly life, the fertility of crops and people, and the protection from violence and sorcery, which was the sum of the villagers' desires.

Those sober, egalitarian societies, built upon principles of harmony among themselves and with the spirts of their universe, vested principal leadership in village headmen, whose duties were primarily religious. So important were their spiritual responsibilities that no quarrels could be brought before them, lest disharmony mar rapport of village with spirit world. To be involved in conflict, even if in the right, tarnished a man's reputation. To seek leadership was considered bad form and could provoke accusations of witchcraft. Such total subordination of individual feelings to group interests caused heavy stress to some individuals, especially those of more ambitious, assertive temperaments. For all their surface harmony, Pueblo communities were gravely vulnerable in their lack of leadership in secular matters and in the absence of realistic ways to accommodate dissension within the group. Latent strife could splinter villages at times of crisis.

Although primarily peaceful Indians, Pueblos maintained efficient citizen militia in the form of war societies headed by war priests and could campaign effectively when aroused. Hostilities between pueblos were often sparked by suspicions that one pueblo had cast evil supernatural power against another. ...Most often, however, Pueblos campaigned in reprisal for raids against their villages by such roving enemies as Apaches and Navajos. The realities of Pueblo wealth attracted nomadic Indian predators....

Pueblo wealth consisted mainly of stored foodstuffs, especially corn, hoarded over periods of three or four years against the drought cycles that brought famine to the unprepared. In good years, when Pueblo crops exceeded both storage capacity and requirements of current consumption, the villagers gladly traded for buffalo meat and hides and handsomely dressed deer skins brought from the plains by nomads.

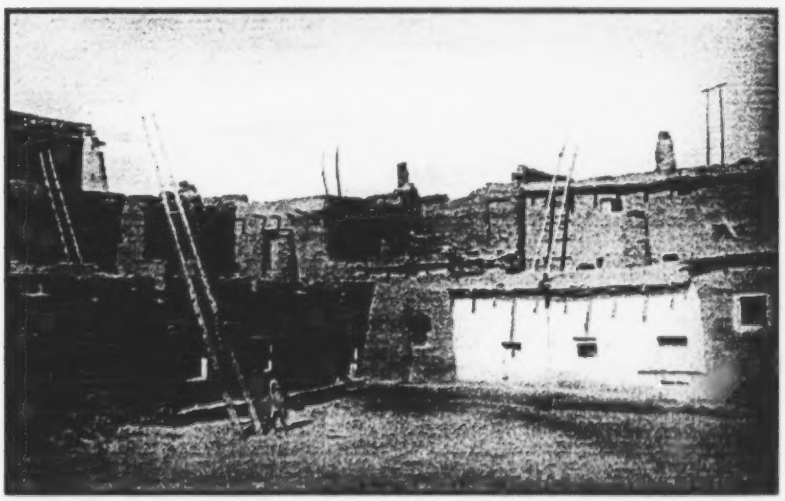
Accumulated textiles were another Pueblo wealth, prime commodities in trade, subject to theft when one people raided another. Their fields yielded scanty crops of cotton, prized according to its scarcity and the long hours of labor required to make it into textiles for basic Pueblo dress. Men wove cloth on their looms in the kivas during winter, when harsh cold kept them below ground in the snug safety of communal chambers. Warmer than cotton, thus most valued as cloak or blanket were fluffy textiles of turkey feathers. Flocks of turkeys were kept in most pueblos, solely for their feathers. Not only did those feathers make the warmest textiles, they also adorned important ceremonial fetishes and carried certain prayers to the spirits.

Fortunately, nomads like to trade for Pueblo surpluses of corn and textiles and occasionally for pottery in which the villages excelled. Besides meat, hides, and tallow, the nomads sometimes bartered their war captives. Many a prosperous Pueblo householder purchased a slave to lighten his labors or expand his household's production. A captive also made a handsome present when a visiting Apache wished to honor a Pueblo friend; the donor could reasonably expect a very nice gift in return.

Thus Pueblos and roving neighbors evolved an interdependence, always wary, sometimes broken by hostilities, but generally permitting each people to specialize in its own best products and to trade for the goods of the other. Some frontier pueblos became trade centers for particular groups of nomads. Winter often found Apaches or Utes camped near the sheltering walls of a pueblo.

Because of the marked similarities of their adaptations to the land, their agricultural practices, their compact multi-storied villages, and their preoccupation with ceremonials, the settled Indians of New Mexico looked deceptively alike. Actually, they were diverse peoples who spoke some four or five mutually unintelligible languages, each with several dialects. Each

or five mutually unintelligible languages, each with several dialects. Each of the sixty or seventy villages was autonomous. Among them were marked differences of organization and of ceremonial emphasis, although welfare of the community and fertility of its land and people were paramount concerns everywhere. Each little village society had shaped a viable balance with the difficult environment, achieving orderly, purposeful existence well above survival level. No one could have guessed how fragile was the balance or how vulnerable the Pueblo world to a massive intrusion. ...



*Zuni Pueblo*

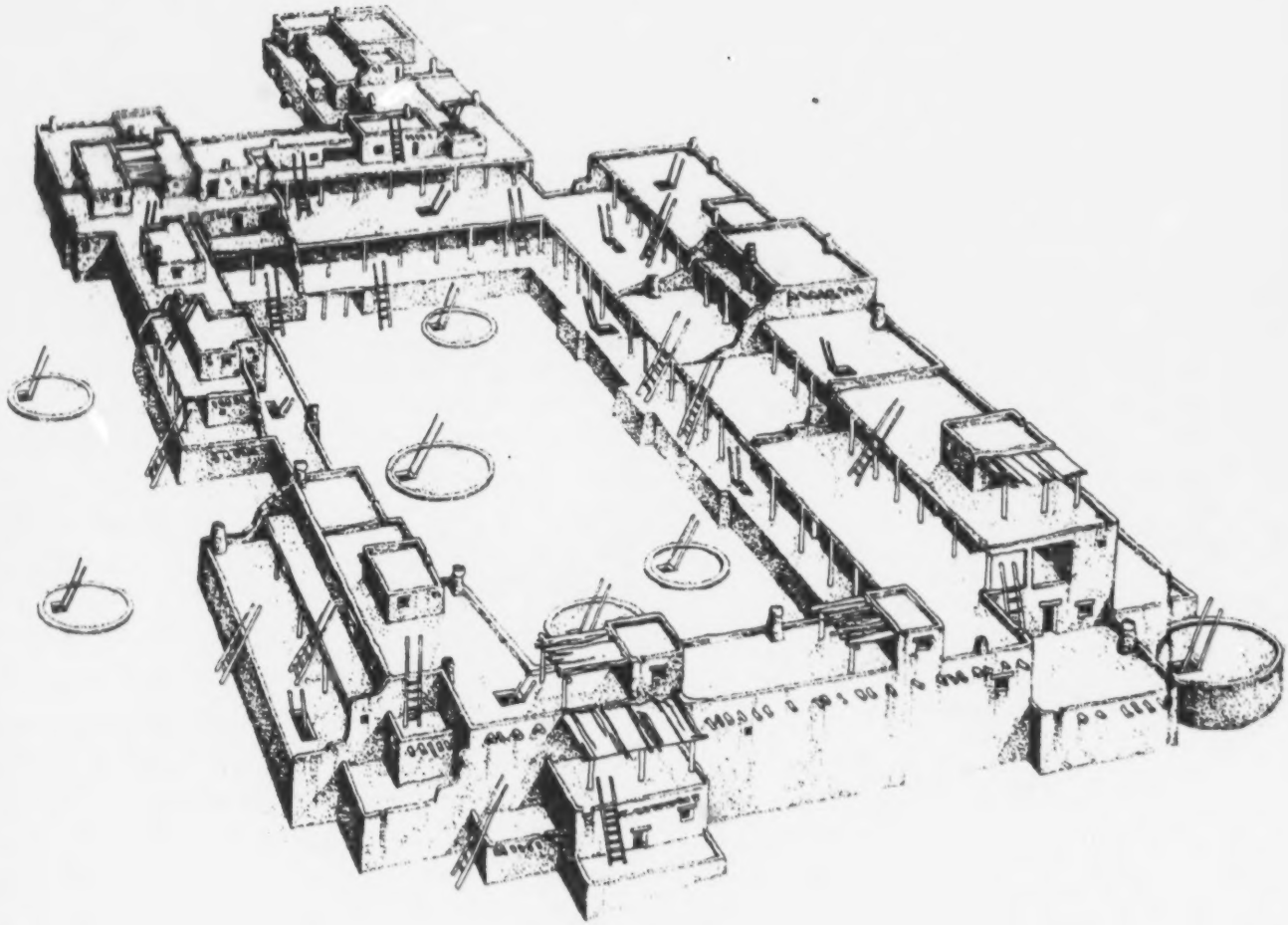
Elizabeth A. H. John., Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795 (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), pp. 4-7.

## Pueblo Government

(Secondary Source)

...The Pueblo peoples, who live in the compact apartment-house villages, never achieved any unity beyond that of the village with a population numbered usually in the hundreds. ...Every pueblo had a number of religious organizations, comparable to our churches, lodges, fraternities, and faith-healing groups. Each chapter of each type of religious society had its own officers. These positions tended to be inherited, although which one of a man's sister's sons or own sons would succeed him depended on the interest the young man took in religious affairs and his ability to learn and perform the ritual correctly. All, or nearly all, such officers in a particular pueblo sat on its council, the number of council members varying from ten to about thirty among the various pueblos. The council was the highest authority in the pueblo and functioned principally as a judiciary body. It decided the fate of citizens accused of crimes, such as witchcraft, betrayal of religious secrets, and disloyalty to the pueblo. Theft, adultery, and even homicide were regarded as torts [wrongful acts] by Pueblo standards, and did not reach the council unless they became too violent to be handled by the proper officials. Tort-handling officials were the leaders of the warrior society, present in some form among all the Pueblos, and the members of this society served as police within the pueblo as well as any army without. On most Pueblo councils there were two individuals who served as executive officers for the pueblo. They may be called the civil priest and the war priest, and their orders were enforced, if necessary, by the warrior society led by the war priest or his lieutenant. Most of the concern of the council centered around deciding what course of action would be most in harmony with the supernatural, from which all blessings flowed. It is clear from this brief description ...The Pueblos possessed true political organization at the village level.

Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 337-338.



**Artist's conception of Pecos pueblo in the sixteenth century**

## LESSON TWO

### Spanish Exploration and Settlement of the Southwest

### A. Objectives

1. To examine Cabeza de Vaca's encounters with Native Americans during his odyssey across the Southest.

2. To understand Coronado's motives for exploring the Southwest and how these motives influnced his accounts of his expedition.

3. To explain Spanish attempts to subdue and Christianize Native Americans of the Southwest.

4. To evaluate the extent to which Spanish settlers adhered to the "Laws of Discovery."

5. To understand that the Pueblo left no written records and that Spanish documents provide our only descriptions of early contact between the Pueblo and the Spanish.

### B. Lesson Background

In 1526 Páfilo de Narváez launched an expedition to Florida with some 600 men. The ill-fated expedition was driven out by Indians who had earlier been antagonized by Spanish slave raiding parties. Narváez and the remnants of his expedition set sail for Mexico in five horsehide boats. One boat survived storms in the Gulf of Mexico. The survivors were captured by the Indians near present-day Galveston, Texas. Only Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, an African slave, Esteban, and two Spanish captains, Castillo and Dorantes, survived and eventually reached Mexico. Their arrival eight years after the failed Narváez expedition and a six-year

overland odyssey form Galveston, Texas to Culiacán, Mexico, stimulated interest in an expedition in search of wealth in the Southwest. Cabeza de Vaca and Esteban repeated stories that they had heard regarding wealthy urban centers to the north of Mexico.

Antoinio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain, unable to persuade Cabeza de Vaca to lead an expedition, appointed Francisco Vásquez de Coronado Governor of New Galicia and captain of a force to spread Spanish control northward. A Franciscan friar Marcos de Niza, who had served with Pizarro in Peru, was given leadership of a preparatory expedition. De Niza enlisted Esteban, Cabeza de Vaca's companion, as a guide. De Niza had Esteban move ahead with instructions to send a small cross if he found signs of a fair prospect for wealth and a cross "two handfuls long" if he heard of wealth equal to that of Mexico. Four days later Exteban sent a cross over five feet tall and reported of hearing that beyond Cíbola were other rich cities with even greater wealth. Traveling several days behind, de Niza received word that Esteban had been captured and killed just outside the walls of Cíbola. De Niza continued north until he sighted what he believed to be the fabled seven cities, claimed the land for Spain, and returned to join Coronado in New Galacia. Within a few weeks of word reaching Mexico City, Viceroy Mendoza enlisted a company of 300 Spanish cavaliers and foot soldiers and several hundred Indian allies to serve under Coronado in an expedition to seize the fabled Seven Cities of Cíbola.

When the Spaniards under Coronado's leadership met a Zuni community in what is tody New

Mexico, little in the experience of either group had prepared its members for the encounter. Coronado's men had been traveling north from Mexico for several months through the arid, hot landscape dotted by rocks and large mesas. Unfamiliar with the land and the climate, the Spaniards had difficulty procuring food and water which not only threatened the lives of the travelers but also led them to place demands for supplies on the Indians they encountered. The allure of the harsh journey lay not in the native people they hoped to find, but in the gold these people were rumored to possess. Coronado and his men hoped to follow the pattern extablished by their fellow countrymen Cortés and Pizarro by finding large, concentrated populations of Native Americans that they could quickly conquer to acquire huge quantities of gold and silver. During the conquest of central Mexico, native informants alluded to the existence of such a settlement to the north that might satisfy future Spanish desires.

Like the Indians of central Mexico, the natives of central New Mexico led a sedentary existence. But for Coronado and his men the differences between the Indians of Cíbola and those of central Mexico were far more striking than the similarities. While the settlements of central New Mexico were much larger than those of the nomadic bands of northern Mexico, they were miniscule in comparison to the Aztecs that Cortés had encountered. Expecting to find, as they had in Mesoamerica, cities populated by hundreds of thousands of inhabitants with hundred-foot-tall structures and vast amounts of wealth in gold and silver, the Spaniards were undoubtedly disappointed with what they found. The Indian settlements scattered along the watershed of the Río

Grande varied in size from several hundred to two thousand people. Their settlements had compact layouts with residences rising in some cases to four stories. The Pueblos possessed few minerals or stones of value to Europeans except a small amount of turquoise, which proved most discouraging to the Spaniards.

When Coronado arrived in this region in 1540 he had initially hoped to avoid many of the cruelties inflicted by Cortés and Pizarro to the south. He viewed himself as benevolently bringing civilization and religion to a people with neither. However, because he believed he had the power to uplift the Pueblo and that his civilization was superior to theirs, he also believed that punishment of Pueblo resistance was justified. Accordingly, those Pueblo who resisted what Coronado perceived to be a favor met harsh treatment. Fortunately for the Pueblo, Coronado did not stay long once he realized they lacked the material wealth he sought. Spaniards would not settle permanently among the Pueblo for another fifty years.

Of course, the Pueblo did not share the same world view as Coronado. They had their own religion and concepts of authority and had never head of Coronado's civil or religious leaders on behalf of whom he claimed title to the region. The Pueblo had little in their previous experience to prepare them for these strange visitors who seemed inappropriately dressed—wearing heavy clothing and leather and steel armor under the hot New Mexico sun—spoke a strange language, rode on strange animals, and worshipped a different God.

Fifty years after Coronado first encountered the peoples along the upper Río Grande in what is

today New Mexico, Juan de Oñate led the Spanish settlement of the region. In 1598 he decreed to the Pueblo that they were subjects of the Spanish king. And as Oñate imposed civil rule upon the Pueblo, the Franciscan friars began their work of converting them to Christianity. Yet the initial political and religious subjugation of the Pueblo probably did not immediately upset them as much as the forced confiscation of many of their supplies by the colonizing Spaniards who had arrived too late in the year to plant their own crops and were unfamiliar with the agricultural techniques required in the arid climate. The inhabitants of the Pueblo of Acoma refused to provide the Spaniards with the supplies they demanded and a confrontation occurred in which a number of soldiers were killed. Fearing a popular uprising if the Spanish failed to make an example of the Pueblo, Oñate recaptured Acoma, destroyed the city and enslaved the survivors.

Spanish authorities continued to exact tribute in the form of labor and crops while missionaries punished Pueblos who did not outwardly conform to Christianity. Those Indians caught practicing their traditional religious rituals often met severe corporal punishments. Outwardly, however, the missionaries could claim large numbers of converts. The sincerity of these conversions is debatable, as there is strong evidence that most Pueblos continued to practice their traditional religion in secret.

The documents in this lesson are from a Spanish perspective. Students should realize that while some Mesoamerican Indians had written systems of communication, the sixteenth-century Pueblo left no written records, and Spanish documents provide our only written descriptions of their early societies.

Because historians often rely on written records to write the history of a people, the lack of Pueblo-produced documents presents a challenge in historical research. Accordingly, students must learn to be sensitive to and analyze the biases of these documents rather than accepting them at face value.

## C. Lesson Activities

1. Ask students to examine how their textbook treats the colonization and settlement of North America. How much attention is given to the American Southwest? What are the impressions given in textual accounts of Spanish colonization and settlement of the region?

2. Have students read the accounts of the travels of Cabeza de Vaca **(Document A)** and Francisco de Coronado **(Document B)** and compare them. The comparison can be charted by noting the similarities and differences in the following categories: areas visited; Indian customs and traditions; and Indian reaction to the Spanish. After students have charted the narratives, ask such questions as: 1) What accounts for the different perceptions of Native Americas in the two accounts? Had Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado encountered the same people would their descriptions be similar? Why or why not? 2) How did the Indians react to Cabeza de Vaca? How did their reactions to Coronado differ? What may have accounted for the difference? 3) What recommendations did Cabeza de Vaca suggest for the conversion of Indians? 4) What did Coronado emphasize in his descriptions of the Indians and their land? Why? 6) How did Coronado's letter to "His Lordship" give clues as to why the

Spanish were in the Southwest? Which motives do you think are strongest: God, glory, gold, or the establishment of settlements? Why?

3. If there are Spanish speakers in the class you may wish to have them translate "The Requirement" (Document C) and read it aloud to students who are either unfamiliar with Spanish or have only a rudimentary understanding of the language. Follow-up with a discussion of the how Indians of the Southwest may have responded to the pronouncement of "The Requirement". Otherwise, have one student read aloud "The Requirement" as if he or she were proclaiming it to the Indians. Conduct a general class discussion to explore the motives for and effects of "The Requirement." Consider such questions as: 1) What was the purpose of "The Requirement?" 2) How may Indians have responded to it? 3) How does "The Requirement" indicate the connection between church and state? between spiritual and military authority? 4) Why would the military and the religious authorities use "The Requirement" after it was abandoned by King Philip II in 1573? 5) Does "The Requirement" help explain Spanish motivation for colonization?

   Have students read the selection from Vitoria's De Indis **(Document D)** and compare and contrast it with "The Requirement."

4. Assign students to read the historical background on Spanish Settlement of New Mexico **(Reading 5)** as a homework assignment. Begin the class the following day by asking students to speculate as to how Oñate should react to the uprising at Acoma. Ask students to read the **Trial Sentence (Document E)**. Working within groups have students

prepare a formal statement to the King of Spain either justifying or criticizing Oñate's decision to punish the Indians of Acoma. Students should include arguments based on their readings in this lesson.

**D. Cast of Characters**

**Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca**
Member of the ill-fated Narváez expedition to Florida; traveled across the Southwest on foot from Galveston Island to Culiacán on the west coast of Mexico

**Francisco Vásquez Coronado**
Appointed to lead an expedition to search for the Seven Cities of Cíbola; explored the Southwest and claimed the region for Spain

**Esteban**
African slave who accompanied Cabeza de Vaca in his journey across the Southwest; served as a guide for Fray Marcos de Niza; killed by Indians in New Mexico while searching for the Seven Cities of Cíbola

**Fernando and Juana**
King Ferdinand of Aragon and his daughter Juana queen of Castile; rulers of Spain following the death of Isabel of Castile

**Fray Marcos de Niza**
Franciscan priest who searched for the Seven Cities of Cíbola; called "Father Provincial" in Coronado's correspondence to the viceroy

**Antonio de Mendoza**
First Viceroy of New Spain

**Juan de Oñate**
Commissioned by King Philip II to establish Spanish settlements in New Mexico in 1595; advocated harsh treatment of the Indian survivors of Acoma after the uprising of 1598

**Philip II**
King of Spain (1556-1598)

**Francisco de Vitoria**
Spanish scholar at the University of Salamanca who advocated legislation favorable to Indians

**Juan de Zaldívar Oñate**
Nephew of Juan de Oñate; commanded a force seeking supplies at the Acoma pueblo in 1598; killed by Pueblos who refused to meet the demands of the Spaniards

## The Journal of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza De Vaca
## 1528-1536
(Primary Source)

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had served as a member of the ill-fated Pánfilo de Narváez expedition to Florida in 1527-1528. Narváez set sail for Mexico in five horsehair boats. Only one of the boats survived the storms in the Gulf of Mexico and was shipwrecked near Galveston Island. Of the wounded and ill Spaniards only four survived—Cabeza de Vaca; Esteban, an African slave; and two captains, Castillo and Dorantes. The four began a six-year odyssey that took them across Texas, along the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico, across Arizona to the Spanish outpost at Culiacán in western Mexico. At first taken as slaves, the band was traded to other Indians and moved from village to village. They were soon regarded as medicine men because of their work with sick and wounded Indians and were given food and supplies for their westward journey. These first Europeans to explore the Southwest were a ragged band of four escapees from a failed expedition seeking to return to Spanish territory. The following are excerpts from several chapters of Cabeza de Vaca's **Relación**, an account of his travels.

*From Chapter 23*

*...After we ate the dogs, we thought we had enough strength to press onward. Commending ourselves to God our Lord to guide us, we said good-bye to those Indians. They led us to others near there who spoke their language. It rained all day long on the way. Besides this, we lost our way and ended up in a very large woodland....*

*Once out of the woods, we found some Indian dwellings.... When they saw us, they fled and went to call some Indians who were in the woods. When they came, they stayed behind some trees to look at us. We called them and they came very fearfully. After we talked to them, they said that they were very hungry, but that they would take us to some dwellings of theirs near by. ...After their fear of us subsided, they touched our faces and bodies and then ran their hands along their own faces and bodies. This is how we spent the night.*

*In the morning they brought their sick people to us, asking us to bless them. They gave us what they had to eat, which was prickly pear leaves and roasted*

*green prickly pears. Since they treated us very well and gladly and willingly shared with us what they had, they themselves doing without so that they could give to us, we stayed with them several days. ... Finally we said good-bye to them and left them weeping over our departure, because it caused them great sorrow.*

*From Chapter 31*

*...All along the way upriver people gave us many buffalo-skin blankets. ...Our only food each day was a handful of deer fat which we always tried to keep for such times of need. And so we journeyed for seventeen days, at the end of which we crossed the river and traveled for seventeen more. At sunset, on plains between some very tall mountains, we found some people who eat nothing but powdered straw for a third of a year. Since it was that season of the year, we had to eat it too. At the end of our journey we found a permanent settlement where there was abundant corn. ...We gave great thanks to God our Lord for having led us there where we had found so much food....*

*From here we traveled over a hundred leagues, always finding permanent settlements and much corn and beans to eat. The people gave us many deer and cotton blankets.... In sum, they gave us everything they had. They gave me five emeralds made into arrowheads. ...Since they seemed very fine to me, I asked them where they had gotten them. They told me that they brought them from some very high mountains to the North, where they traded them for plumes and parrot feathers. They said that there were large towns and very large dwellings there.*

*...All these people came to us to be touched and blessed. They were so insistent that it was very difficult for us to deal with this. Everyone sick or healthy, wanted to be blessed....*

*Throughout these lands those who were at war with one another made peace to come to greet us and give us all they owned. In this way we left the whole country in peace. We told them in sign language which they understood that in heaven there was a man whom we called God, who had created heaven and earth, and that we worshipped him and considered him our Lord and did everything that he commanded. We said that all good things came from his hand and that if they did the same, things would go very well for them. We found that they were so well disposed for it that, if we could have*

*communicated perfectly in a common language, we could have converted them to Christianity. We tried to communicate these things to them the best we could. From then on at sunrise, with a great shout they would stretch their hands towards heaven and run them over their entire bodies. They did the same thing at sunset. They are affable and resourceful people and capable of pursuing anything.*

*From Chapter 32*

*...We stayed in this village three days. A day's journey from there was another village. There it rained so much that we could not cross a river that had risen very much; so we had to wait two weeks. At this time Castillo saw a buckle from a sword belt around an Indian's neck, with a horseshoe nail sewn to it. Castillo took it away from him and we asked the Indian what it was. They replied that it had come from heaven. ...They told us that some bearded men like us, with horses, lances and swords, had come there from heaven.... We gave great thanks to God our Lord when we heard this, since we doubted we would ever have news of Christians. ...Since we had such evidence about them, we finally decided to go faster on our way.*

*We traveled far and found the entire country empty because the people who lived there were fleeing into the mountains, not daring to work the fields or plant crops for fear of the Christians. It was very pitiful for us to see such a fertile and beautiful land, filled with water and rivers, with abandoned and burned villages, and to see that the people, who were weakened and sick, all had to flee and hide. Since they could not plant crops, they were very hungry and had to survive by eating tree bark and roots. ...They told us that Christians had raided their land and had destroyed and burned villages and carried off half the men and all the women and children. ...They were determined to die and thought this would be better than to wait for such cruel treatment as they had already received. ...But since God our Lord was pleased to bring us to them, they began to be in awe of us and revere us as the previous people had done, and every more so, which amazed us. By this, one can clearly recognize that all these people, in order to be attracted to becoming Christians and subjects of your Imperial Majesty, need to be treated well; this is a very sure way to accomplish this; indeed, there is no other way....*

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, La Relación, Annotated translation by Martin A. Favata and José B. Fernández (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993), pp. 84-106.

## Letter of Coronado to Mendoza, August 3, 1540

(Primary Source)

Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Governor of New Galicia, was appointed in 1539 to head a military expedition to spread Spanish power north from Mexico into the southwestern region of what is now the United States. The expedition left from Culiacán, Mexico in 1540. For two years Coronado and his men explored the Southwest searching for the fabled Seven Cities of Cíbola. Although Coronado sought to avoid the cruelty associated with the conquest of Mexico, he won a reputation for his treachery in dealing with the Indians he encountered. The following is an excerpt from one of Coronado's letters to Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain.

*...It now remains for me to tell you about the Seven Cities, the kingdom and province, of which the Father Provincial [Fray Marcos de Niza] gave Your Lordship an account. Not to be too verbose, I can assure you that he has not told the truth in a single thing that he said, but everything is the reverse of what he said, except the name of the city and the large stone houses. For, although they are not decorated with turquoises, nor made of lime nor of good bricks, nevertheless they are very good houses, with three and four and five stories, where there are very good apartments and good rooms with corridors, and some quite good rooms under ground and paved, which are built for winter, and which are something like a sort of hot baths. ...The Seven Cities are seven little villages, all having the kind of houses I have described. They are all within a radius of five leagues. They are all called the Kingdom of Cevola [Cíbola], and each has its own name and no single one is called Cevola, but all together are called Cevola. This one which I have called a city I have named Granada, partly because it has some similarity to it, and as well as our of regard for Your Lordship. In this place where I am now lodged there are perhaps 200 houses, all surrounded by a wall, and it seems to me that, with the other houses, which are not so surrounded, there might be altogether 500 families....*

*The peoples of these towns seem to me to be of ordinary size and intelligent, although I do not think they have the judgment and intelligence which they ought to have to build these houses in the way in which they have, for most of them are entirely naked except for the covering of their privy parts, and they have painted mantles like the one which I send to Your*

*Lordship. ...They all have good figures and are well bred. I think they have a quantity of turquoises, which they have removed with the rest of their goods, except the corn, when I arrived.... Two points of emerald and some broken stones which approach the color of rather poor garnets were found in a paper, besides other stone crystals, which I gave to one of my servants to keep until they could be sent to Your Lordship. He has lost them, as they tell me....*

*The climate of this country and the temperature of the air is almost like that of Mexico, because now it is hot and sometimes it rains. ...The snow and the cold are usually very great, according to what the natives of the country all say. This may very probably be so, both because of the nature of the country and the sort of houses they build and the skins and other things which these people have to protect them from the cold. There are no fruits or fruit trees. The country is all level and is nowhere shut in by high mountains, although there are some hills and rough passages. ...No information can be obtained among them about the North sea or that on the west, nor do I know how to tell Your Lordship which we are nearest to. I should judge that it is nearer to the western, and 150 leagues is the nearest that it seems to me it can be thither. The North sea ought to be much farther away. Your Lordship may thus see how extensive this country is....*

*These Indians say that the kingdom of Totonteac, which the father provincial praised so much, saying that it was something marvelous, and of such a very great size...is a hot lake, on the edge of which there are five or six houses. There used to be some others, but these have been destroyed by war. ...God knows that I wish I had better news to write to Your Lordship, but I must give you the truth... I must advise you of the good as well as of the bad. But you may be assured that if there had been all the riches and treasures of the world, I could not have done more in His Majesty's service and in that of Your Lordship than I have done in coming here where you commanded me to go, carrying, both my companions and myself, our food on our backs for 300 leagues, and traveling on foot for many days, besides other labors which I refrain from mentioning. Nor do I think of stopping until my death, if it serves His Majesty or Your Lordship to have it so.*

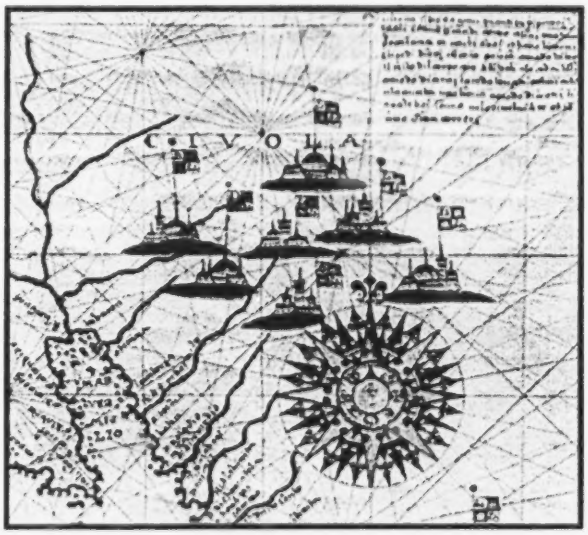
*Three days after I captured this city, some of the Indians who lived here came to offer to make peace. They brought me some turquoises and poor mantles, and I received them in his Majesty's name with as good a speech as I could,*

*making them understand the purpose of my coming to this country, which is, in the name of his Majesty and by the command of Your Lordship, that they and all others in this province should become Christians and should know the true God for their Lord, and His Majesty for their king and earthly lord. After this they returned to their houses, and suddenly, the next day, they packed up their goods and property, their women and children, and fled to the hills, leaving their towns deserted with only some few remaining in them. Seeing this, I went to the town which I said was larger than this.... I found a few of them there, whom I told them they ought not to feel any fear, and I asked them to summon their lord to me. By what I can find out or observe, however, none of these towns have any.... Afterward, an old man, who said he was their lord...with whom I argued as long as he stayed with me. He said that he would come to see me with the rest of the chiefs of the country, three days later, in order to arrange the relations which should exist between us. He did so... . I said that they ought to come down from their strongholds and return to their houses with their wives and children, and that they should become Christians, and recognize His Majesty as their king and lord. But they still remain in their strongholds, with their wives and all their property. ...They say that they will bring their children so that our priests may instruct them, and that they desire to know our law. They declare that it was foretold among them more than fifty years ago that a people such as we are should come, and the direction they should come form, and that the whole country would be conquered. So far as I can find out, the water is what these Indians worship, because they say it makes the corn grow and sustains their life, and that the only other reason they know is because their ancestors did so. I have tried every way to find out from the natives of these settlements whether they know of any other peoples or provinces or cities. They tell me about seven cities which are at a considerable distance, which are like these, except that the houses there are not like these, but are made of earth [adobe], and small, and that they raise much cotton there. ...I have determined to send throughout all the surrounding regions, in order to find out whether there is anything, and to suffer every extremity before I give up this enterprise, and to serve His Majesty, if I can find any way in which to do it, and not to be lacking in diligence until Your Lordship directs me as to what I ought to do....*

*As far as I can judge, it does not appear to me that there is any hope of getting gold or silver, but I trust in God that, if there is any, we shall get our share of it, and it shall not escape us through any lack of diligence in the search. I am*

*unable to give Your Lordship any certain information about the dress of the women, because the Indians keep them guarded so carefully that I have not seen any, except two old women. These had on two long shirts reaching down to their feet and open in front...and they are tied together with some cotton strings. I asked the Indians to give me one of those which they wore to send to you since they were not willing to show me the women....*

*Some gold and silver has been found in this place, which those who know about minerals say is not bad. I have not yet been able to learn from these people where they got it. I perceive that they refuse to tell me the truth in everything.... But I trust in God that they will not be able to avoid answering much longer. I beg Your Lordship to make a report of the success of this expedition to His Majesty, because there is nothing more than what I have already said. I shall not do so until it shall please God to grant that we find what we desire. Our Lord God protect and keep your most illustrious Lordship. From the province of Cevola, and this city of Granada, the 3d of August, 1540. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado kisses the hand of your most illustrious Lordship.*




*The European Challenge*

George Parker Winship, The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542 (Chicago: The Rio Grande Press, 1964), pp. 326-35.

## Requierimiento, 1513

(Primary Source)

In 1494 Queen Isabel called together a committee of jurists and theologians to discuss the question of the status of the Indians and whether they could or should be enslaved. The result was a document drawn up in Valladolid, Spain in 1513, which was to be read to Indians before Spaniards could launch hostilities. Although "The Requirement" was Spanish law from 1513 until it was withdrawn in 1573, there are numerous cases in which it was subverted. Historian Lewis Hanke charges that in some cases "The Requirement was read to trees and empty huts when no Indians were to be found. ...Ship captains would sometimes have the document read from the deck as they approached an island, and at night would send out enslaving expeditions, whose leaders would shout the traditional Castilian war cry 'Santiago!' rather than read the *Requirement* before they attacked the near-by villages.

*On the part of the King, don Fernando, and of doña Juana, his daughter, Queen of Castile and Léon, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, Living and Eternal, created the Heaven and the Earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and I, and all the men of the world, were and are descendants, and all those who come after us. But, on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should go one way and some another, and that they should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.*

*Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be; and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.*

*And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable Great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that*

*time obeyed that St. Peter, and took him for Lord, King, and Superior of the universe; so also have they regarded the others who after him have been elected to the Pontificate, and so it has been continued even until now, and will continue until the end of the world.*

*One of these Pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as Lord of the world, in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Terrafirme [mainland] to the aforesaid King and Queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.*

*So their Highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of Terrafirme by virtue of this donation; and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their Highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their Highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same. Wherefore as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this terra firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.*

*If you do so, you will do well and that which you are obliged to do to their Highnesses, and we in their names shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compel you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish* to be

*converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done. And besides this, their Highnesses award you many privileges and exceptions and will grant you many benefits.*

*But if you do not do this, and wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do all the harm and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requirement, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requirement.*

Arthur Helps, The Spanish Conquest in America and Its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of the Colonies, vol. 1 (London: 1900), pp. 264-67

## Francisco de Vitoria's *De Indis* , 1532
(Primary Source)

The ethical issues surrounding the status of the Indians led to a debate among Spanish intellectuals. Francisco de Vitoria, a highly respected scholar, delivered several lectures at the University of Salamanca in which he expressed ideas which became the basis for later Spanish legislation regarding Indians. The following is an excerpt from his lectures in 1532 entitled "*De Indis recenter inventis.*"

1. *Since unbelief does not preclude ownership of property, the Indians are not precluded from owning property, and they are therefore the true owners of the New World, as they were before the advent of the Spaniards.*

2. *The Emperor is not the lord of the whole world, and, even if he were, he would not therefore be entitled to seize the provinces of the Indians, to put down their lords, to raise up new ones, and to levy taxes.*

3. *Neither is the Pope the civil or temporal lord of the whole world. He has no secular power except in so far as it subserves things spiritual. He can have no power over the dominions of unbelievers and therefore cannot give such dominions to secular princes. A refusal on the part of the aborigines to recognize the power of the Pope cannot therefore be regarded as a reason for making war upon them and seizing their goods. If the Christian religion had been expounded to the Indians with never so much sufficiency or proof, and they still refuse to accept it, this would not render it lawful to make war upon them and despoil them of their possessions.*

4. *The Spaniards, on the other hand, have the right to go to the lands of the Indians, dwell there and carry on trade, so long as they do no harm, and they may not be prevented by the Indians from so doing. If the Spaniards have diligently informed the Indians that they have not come to interfere in any way with the peace and welfare of the Indians, and if the Indians still show hostility toward them and attempt to destroy them, then, and only then, will it be lawful to make war upon the Indians. In the event of war the Indians may be despoiled of their goods and reduced to slavery, because in the law of nations whatever we take from the enemy becomes ours at once, and so true is this that men may be brought into slavery to us.*

5. *The Christians have the right to preach the Gospel among the barbarians. The Pope has the right to entrust the conversion of the Indians to the Spaniards alone and to forbid all other nations to preach or trade among them, if the propagation of the Faith would thus be furthered. If the Indians do not hinder the preaching of the Gospel they may not be subjected by war, whether they accept it or not.*

Lesley Byrd Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 127-28.

## Spanish Colonization of New Mexico
## Historical Background
(Secondary Source)

In 1542, the Spanish crown, influenced by pleas for a more humane treatment of Indians, passed laws to curb the excesses of the conquests of Mexico and Peru. King Philip II of Spain, recognizing that the spirit of laws had not been implemented, ordered new legislation to strengthen the existing laws. These new "Laws of Discovery" issued in 1573 ordered that Spanish deal with Indians in a Christian and humane manner and that all expeditions were to establish missions for the conversion of the Indians. Since the Coronado expedition into the Southwest, a number of Spaniards had ventured into the area seeking wealth and had brutalized the Indians. The viceroy, seeking to put an end to unauthorized expeditions, called upon the king to authorize settlement of the region to end further loss of the "prestige of our nation among the Indians of that land."

In 1595, Philip II commissioned Juan de Oñate to lead the expedition into New Mexico. In compliance with the Laws of Discovery, Philip authorized Oñate to treat the Indians with fairness and to insure "...that all people in your company act gently and kindly, without committing excesses or setting bad examples, or irritating those we seek to attract lest they adopt an unfriendly attitude toward the faith. You are to direct everything to this principal aim." In fulfillment of his commission, Oñate's expedition included 130 soldiers, many accompanied by their families, a number of Franciscan friars, and thousands of head of cattle. Oñate laid claim "of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, on the Río del Norte, in the name of our Lord King Philip." He established a colony at the pueblo of Caypa which he renamed San Juan.

In 1598, Oñate set out to find a land route to the Pacific. His nephew, Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, on his return to San Juan from an expedition to the Great Plains, received orders to join his uncle. With a party of 31 men he marched westward and running short of supplies stopped at the Pueblo of Acoma. He sent eight men to follow Acoma guides up the path to the city situated on a high plateau. The Indians provided some supplies; however, the Spaniards felt they were insufficient and took hostages as they left the city hoping to force the pueblo to bring them additional supplies. Zaldívar immediately

order the release of the hostages and negotiated with the Indians for additional supplies. The Indians delayed saying that they needed time to provide the goods the Spaniards demanded. Zaldívar and his men ascended the plateau and were met by Indians who guided them through the narrow streets of the pueblo; however, most of the Indians refused to give them the flour they demanded. As the Spaniards broke into smaller groups to search for flour, the Indians attacked. Zaldívar and most of his party were killed. The few Spaniards that escaped jumped over the side of the cliffs. Those that survived landed on sand drifts while the rest were crushed on the rocks at the base of the plateau. On receiving word of the events at Acoma, Oñate returned to San Juan and called a general meeting to determine his course of action. The Spaniards were well aware that they were outnumbered by the Pueblos and felt swift action was necessary to maintain control. However, they realized that harsh reprisal against Acoma could set back the Franciscan efforts to convert the Indians. Oñate argued that if the Spanish failed to take action the Pueblos would lose their fear of the Spaniards which would probably result in hindering efforts to convert the Indians. He therefore decided to use military force along with a carefully planned display of compassion by the friars to improve their image and foster new conversions. Oñate sent out a force to demand the surrender of Acoma. If they refused, he authorized the commander of the expedition to use force to seize the pueblo and "...if you should want to show lenience after they have been arrested, you should seek all possible means to make the Indians believe that you are dong so at the request of the friars..." The Indians refused to surrender and gave battle. The Spaniards, scaling the mesa, gained entry into the pueblo and turned their guns on the Indians. No Spaniards were killed and only a few wounded while the Indians suffered heavy casualties with over 800 killed during the battle. The 500 Indians who survived were taken to San Juan as prisoners where they were tried for murdering Juan de Zaldívar, ten Spaniards, and two servants.

Written by David Vigilante

## Sentence of the Court in the Trial of Indians of Acoma

(Primary Source)

In the criminal case between the royal court and the Indians of the pueblo and fortress of Acoma, represented by Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, their defender, accused of having wantonly killed Don Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, maese de campo general of this expedition, and Captains Felipe de Escalante and Diego Núñez, eight soldiers, and two servants, and of other crimes; and in addition to this, after Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza, my sargento mayor , whom I sent for this purpose in my place, had repeatedly called upon them to accept peace, not only did they refuse to do so, but actually received him with hostility, wherefore, taking into account the merits of the case and the guilt resulting therefrom, I must and do sentence all of the Indian men and women from the said pueblo under arrest, as follows:

*The males who are over twenty-five years of age I sentence to have one foot cut off and to twenty years of personal servitude.*

*The males between the ages of twelve and twenty-five I sentence likewise to twenty years of personal servitude.*

*The women over twelve years of age I sentence likewise to twenty years of personal servitude.*

*Two Indians from the province of Moqui who were present at the pueblo of Acoma and who fought and were apprehended, I sentence to have the right hand cut off and to be set free in order that they may convey to their land the news of this punishment.*

*All the children under twelve years of age I declare free and innocent of the grave offense for which I punish their parents. And because of my duty to aid, support, and protect both the boys and girls under twelve years of age, I place the girls under the care of our father commissary, Fray Alonso Martínez, in order that he, as a Christian and qualified person, may distribute them in this kingdom or elsewhere in monasteries or other places where he thinks that they may attain the knowledge of God and the salvation of their souls.*

*The boys under twelve years of age I entrust to Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza, my sargento mayor, in order that they may attain the same goal.*

*The old men and women, disabled in the war, I order freed and entrusted to the Indians of the province of Querechos that they may support them and may not allow them to leave their pueblos.*

*I order that all of the Indian men and women who have been sentenced to personal servitude shall be distributed among my captains and soldiers in the manner which I will prescribe and who may have and keep them as their slaves for the said terms of twenty years and no more.*

*This being a definite and final sentence, I so decree and order,*

*Don Juan De Oñate*
*February 12, 1599*

**Execution of the Sentence**

*The said sentence was carried out as decreed in the pueblo of Santo Domingo and other towns nearby, where the Indians whose hands and feet were to be cut off were punished on different days.*

*As for the other Indians, both men and women, who had been condemned to become slaves or wards, the sentence was executed at the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, where his majesty's army is stationed, February 15, 1599. I so certify,*

*Juan Gutiérrez Boganegra, secretary.*

Don Juan De Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628, edited by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), pp. 477-79.

*Acoma Pueblo*

*"Jaun de Oñate" by José Cisneros*

## LESSON THREE

### The Pueblo Revolt and its Consequences

### A. Objectives

1. To understand multiple points of view by comparing different accounts of the Pueblo Rebellion and explaining why the interpretations differ.

2. To understand that the Spanish presence in New Mexico drew together Pueblo Indians from diverse cultures behind a common cause.

3. To examine the differences in the religious beliefs of Pueblo Indians and Spanish Catholicism and explain how these beliefs posed a potential for conflict.

4. To understand the ability of native culture to persist despite spanish political conquest.

### B. Lesson Background

The colonization of New Mexico was expensive and had produced nothing to prove its worth. The Viceroy of Mexico, disheartened by the enterprise, urged the king to abandon the project and instead concentrate on the colonization of Alta California. In 1607, Oñate asked to be relieved of his command unless sufficient aid was sent to him. The Viceroy refused Oñate's request and recalled him. Pedro de Peralta was appointed as the new governor and, in 1609, founded the town of Santa Fe and established it as the capital of the province.

Although New Mexico failed to produce great wealth the friars succeeded in making converts. By 1630, the Franciscans had established 25 missions and claimed to have baptized over 60,000 Indians. While

the Pueblos accepted Christianity they also preserved their own religion. As the friars pressured them to abandon all aspects of their earlier beliefs, the Pueblos became more sullen. The Indians, likewise, brooded over being forced to labor for the Spaniards and to provide them with a yearly tribute in the form of corn and cloth. For nearly 80 years the Indians lived in relative peace with the Spaniards despite a growing undercurrent of resentment.

Despite the apparent harshness of the Spaniards, their presence offered the Pueblo some benefits. Most importantly, the Spaniards brought with them their horses, cattle, and military weaponry. Without Spanish military protection, the Pueblo would have been more susceptible to raids by nomadic Athapascan-speaking Indians who make efficient use of the horse by raiding Spanish and Pueblo settlements. For most Pueblos, however, the cost of subjection to Spanish rule far outweighed the benefit of Spanish military protection from neighboring Indians—as evidenced by the rebellion of 1680.

Under the leadership of Popé, a religious leader from the San Juan pueblo whom the Spanish had whipped five years earlier for sorcery and witchcraft, the Pueblos accomplished a monumental organizational task by drawing together approximately 17,000 Indians coming from different cultures and speaking a variety of languages. To measure the time period before the rebellion Popé distributed to each participating community knotted cords in which each knot in the cord represented one day until the planned attack. Unfortunately for the revolters, some Indians loyal to the Spanish warned them of an

impending attack. Thus Popé's followers had to start the revolt, scheduled for August 11, two days early. Even when rushed, however, the revolt had a devastating effect on the Spanish presence in the area.

The Pueblos forced out of New Mexico all 2,500 Spaniards occupying the region north of El Paso del Norte and killing 400 of them in the process. The revolt left a mixed legacy. To be sure, the Pueblo freed themselves of Spanish rule for the next thirteen years until Diego de Vargas led the Spanish reconquest of the region. For this freedom the Pueblo sacrificed many lives. During the thirteen years of Spanish absence, perhaps the biggest beneficiaries of the revolt were the nomadic Indians in the region who on their raids no longer had to confront Spaniards who protected Pueblo villages.

The first document of this lesson, a letter from the Spanish governor of New Mexico, Antonio de Otermín, to Fray Francisco de Ayeta, describes the revolt from a Spaniard's point of view. The second document contains excerpts from a Spanish trial of an Indian participant in the rebellion. Students should again keep in mind the biases that the accounts might contain. Even the Indian testimony in court must be analyzed with care, given that it was recorded by a Spaniard in a Spanish court. Students should also explore what the actions taken during the rebellion imply about Pueblo religious beliefs and the degree to which Pueblo culture had persisted since the arrival of Spaniards in the region. The last reading is a secondary source exploring the consequences of the Pueblo Revolt.

## C. Lesson Activities

1. Have students read the "Comparison Sheet" on the

Pueblo Religion and Catholicism (Student Handout). Discuss the following questions: 1) How do the Pueblos and the Franciscans compare on their attitudes of moral obligation, personal identity, and world view? 2) Were their religious views a source of connection between the two peoples or a potential for conflict? Why?

2. Divide the class into cooperative learning groups of six and designate a moderator/recorder for each group. Have three students within each group read and analyze one of the two documents in this lesson **(Documents F & G)** and be able to respond to the following questions from their document. a) From whose point of view is the document, the Spanish or the Pueblo? How do you know? b) To what extent did conflicting religious beliefs promote conflict? c) What do the documents indicate to you about the reasons for the Pueblo Revolt? Explain.

   The moderator should establish a group consensus on the questions and report on their group discussion.

3. Conduct a general class discussion on the reasons for the Pueblo Revolt. Was the revolt a result of political, economic, or religious differences? Have student explain their reasoning.

4. Have students read and discuss "**Aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt**" (**Reading 6**) and evaluate the success of the Pueblo Revolt.

5. Conclude the unit by having students write an essay or give oral presentations on topics such as: the conflict of cultures in the Southwest; or the ethical dimensions of the Spanish conquest of the

Southwest.

**D. Cast of Characters**

**Pedro Naranjo**
Indian from the Queres Nation who gave testimony in a Spanish court regarding the Pueblo Revolt

**Don Antonio de Otermín**
Governor and Captain General of New Mexico at the time of the Pueblo Revolt

**Popé**
Tewa medicine man driven out of San Juan pueblo for witchcraft and settled in Taos; led the Pueblo Revolt of 1680

**Luis Tupatú**
Indian leader from the pueblo of Picurís; overthrew Popé in 1681 and became spokesman for the Pueblo confederation

**Diego de Vargas**
Replaced Otermín as Governor of New Mexico and led an expedition to reconquer the province in 1682

## COMPARISON CHART OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

PUEBLO BELIEFS

The underworld is the locus for sources of life.

Gods, men, animals, and plants emerged through an opening in the underworld's roof

In the time of beginnings, many gods had lived with the people and taught them how to cope with the new environment. Patterns and procedures thought to stem from that time carried the sanction of ultimate authority.

The earth had a sacred status of its own. Sacred space radiated in concentric circles from the center. Everything in the cosmos has its place by reference to the center.

Instead of wishing to escape this world or destroy it, the Pueblos affirmed their existence in it and husbanded their lives along with nature as part of a single, sanctified system.

Personal identity is defined by reference to the community.

Everyone is certain to reach the afterworld regardless of merits or demerits. Those failing to lead a good life would have a more difficult time reaching the place of reentry.

A sense of duty and propriety derives from the community and its needs.

The Pueblo's central obligation is to participate in and perpetuate those rites which ensure a well ordered life for the Pueblo. Most village adults belong to one of many societies, usually from eight to twenty in a pueblo, that preside over vital functions like planting, irrigation, or rainmaking.

CATHOLIC BELIEFS

The outlook is upward, guided by a Primal Creator, who presides over the affairs of all humans.

The natural world is the Lord's footstool and man's economic resource.

The individual has free will and the opportunity to distinguish himself or herself.

Salvation is possible for individuals based on their own actions, prayer, and the mercy of God. Faith and Works determine salvation.

Church is an institution composed of believers gathered in anticipation of ultimate rescues out of this life. Only baptized individuals could be saved.

Attendance at mass, morning and evening prayer, obedience to magistrates and monogamy are stressed as good behavior.

**MORAL OBLIGATION:**

**PUEBLO** **CATHOLIC**

**PERSONAL IDENTITY:**

**PUEBLO** **CATHOLIC**

**WORLD VIEW:**

**PUEBLO** **CATHOLIC**

**Letter from the Governor and Captain-General of New Mexico, Don Antonio de Otermín, from New Mexico to Fray Francisco de Ayeta, September 8, 1680**
(Primary Source)

*My very reverend father, most beloved Fray Francisco de Ayeta: The time has come when, with tears in my eyes and deep sorrow in my heart, I commence to give an account of the lamentable tragedy. . .*

*I received information that a plot for a general uprising of the Christian Indians was being formed and was spreading rapidly. . . . It was my misfortune that I learned of it on the eve of the day set for the beginning of the said uprising, and though I immediately...notified the lieutenant general on the lower river and all the other* alcaldes mayores *—so that they could take every care and precaution against whatever might occur, and so that they could make every effort to guard and protect the religious ministers and the temples—the cunning and cleverness of the rebels were such, and so great, that my efforts were of little avail. ...I immediately...sent...Francisco Gómez, with a squadron of soldiers sufficient to investigate the case and also to attempt to extinguish the flame of the ruin already begun. He returned here on the same day, telling me that the report of the death of...Fray Juan Pío.... He also said there had been killed [many others] that same morning....*

*Seeing myself with notices of so many and such untimely deaths, and ...that the Indians had killed most of those on the lower river, and considering also that in the pueblo of Los Taos...and of the pueblo of Pecuríes might be in danger...I endeavored to send a relief of soldiers. Marching out for that purpose, they learned that in La Cañada, as in Los Taos and Pecuríes, the Indians had risen in rebellion, joining the Apaches... .*

*On Tuesday, the 13th of the said month, ...their came in sight of us...all the Indians of the Tanos and Pecos nations and the Queres of San Marcos, armed and giving war whoops. As I learned that one of the Indians who was leading them was from the villa and gone to join them shortly before, I sent some soldiers to summon him and tell him on my behalf that he could come to see me in entire safety.... Upon receiving this message he came to where I was, and...I asked him how it was that he had gone crazy too—being an*

*Indian who spoke our language, was so intelligent, and had lived all his life in the villa among the Spaniards, where I had placed such confidence in him—and was now coming as a leader of the Indian rebels. He replied to me that they had elected him as their captain, and that they were carrying two banners, one white and the other red, and that the white one signified peace and the red one war. Thus if we wished to choose the white it must be upon our agreeing to leave the country, and if we chose the red, we must perish... .*

*On hearing his reply, I spoke to him very persuasively to the effect that he and the rest of his followers were Catholic Christians, asking how they expected to live without the religious; and said that even though they had committed so many atrocities, still there was a remedy, for if they would return to obedience to his Majesty they would be pardoned; and that thus he should go back to his people and tell them in my name all that had been said to him.... He came back from there after a short time, saying that his people asked that all classes of Indians who were in our power be given up to them.... He demanded also that his wife and children be given up to him.... If these things were not done they would declare war immediately....*

*Seeing his determination, and what they demanded of us, ...and that these parlays were intended solely to obtain his wife and children and to gain time for the arrival of the other rebellious nations to join them and besiege us ..., I told him...to return to his people and say to them that unless they immediately desisted from sacking the houses and dispersed, I would send to drive them away from there. Whereupon he went back, and his people received him with peals of bells and trumpets, giving loud shouts in sign of war.*

*With this...I ordered all the soldiers to go out and attack them until they succeeded in dislodging them from that place. Advancing for this purpose, they joined battle, killing some at the first encounter. Finding themselves repulsed, they took shelter and fortified themselves....*

*On...Wednesday, the enemy...took up their position, and this day passed without our having any further engagements or skirmishes...we taking care that they should not throw themselves upon us and burn the church and the houses of the villa.*

*The next day...the enemy obliged us to take the same step as on the day before.... There were only some light skirmishes to prevent their burning and sacking of the houses which were at a distance from the main part of the villa. I knew well enough that these dilatory tactics were to give time for the people of the other nations who were missing to join them in order to besiege and attempt to destroy us....*

*On the next day, Friday, the nations of the Taos, Pecuríes, Jemez, and Queres having assembled during the past night, when dawn came more than 2,500 Indians fell upon us in the villa, fortifying and intrenching themselves in all its houses and at the entrance of all the streets.... They burned the holy temple and many houses in the villa. We had several skirmishes...but, seeing that it was impossible to hold even this against them, and almost all the soldiers of the post being already wounded, I endeavored to fortify myself in the casas reales and to make a defense without leaving their walls....*

*On the next day, Saturday, they began at dawn to press us harder and more closely with gunshots, arrows, and stones, saying to us that now we should not escape them, and that besides their own numbers, they were expecting help from the Apaches whom they had already summoned. ...At nightfall, because of the evident peril in which we found ourselves by their graining the two stations where the cannon were mounted, which we had at the doors of the casas reales , aimed at the entrance of the streets, in order to bring them inside it was necessary to assemble all the forces that I had with me.... Instantly all the said Indian rebels began a chant of victory and raised war whoops, burning all the houses of the villa, and they kept us in this position the entire night....*

*...Surrounded by such a wailing of women and children, with confusion everywhere, I determined to take the resolution of going out in the morning to fight with the enemy until dying or conquering.... All of us who could mounted our horses, and the rest went on foot with their harquebuses, and some Indians who were in our service with their bows and arrows.... On coming out of the entrance to the street it was seen that there was a great number of Indians. They were attacked in force and though they resisted the first charge bravely, finally they were put to flight, many of them being overtaken and killed.... Though they endeavored to defend themselves, and did so, seeing that they were being set afire and that they would be burned to death, those*

*who remained alive surrendered and much was made of them. The deaths of both parties in this and the other encounters exceeded three hundred Indians.... On the morning of the next day, Monday, I set out for La Isleta.... I trusted in divine providence, for I left without a crust of bread or a grain of wheat or maize....*

*...I shall not spare any means in the service of God and of his majesty, losing a thousand lives if I had them, as I have lost my estate and part of my health, and shedding my blood for God. May He protect me and permit me to see your reverence in this place at the head of the relief.*

September 8, 1680.
Your servant, countryman, and friend
kisses your reverence's hand.
Don Antonio de Otermín.

Report of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otemín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682, Volume I, edited by George P. Hammond (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942),pp. 94-105.

**Testimony of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation [Place of the Río del Norte], December 19, 1681**
(Primary Source)

*...On the said day, month, and year, for the prosecution of the judicial proceedings of this case his lordship caused to appear before him an Indian prisoner named Pedro Naranjo...who was captured in the advance and attack upon the pueblo of La Isleta. He makes himself understood very well in the Castilian language and speaks his mother tongue and the Tegua. He took the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he knows and as he might be questioned, and having understood the seriousness of the oath and so signified through the interpreters, he spoke as indicated by the contents of the autos [an official declaration of facts].*

*Asked whether he knows the reason or motives which the Indians of this kingdom had for rebelling, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and committing such grave and atrocious crimes, and who were the leaders and principal movers, and by whom and how it was ordered; and why they burned the images, temples, crosses, rosaries, and things of divine worship, committing such atrocities as killing priests, Spaniards, women, and children, and the rest that he might know touching the question, he said that since the government of Señor General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha they have planned to rebel on various occasions through conspiracies of the Indian sorcerers.... Finally, in the past years, at the summons of an Indian name Popé who is said to have communication with the devil, it happened that in an estufa [kiva] of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians.... He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies...and that these three beings spoke to the said Popé.... They told him to make a cord of maguey fiber and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days that they must wait before the rebellion. He said that the cord was passed through all the pueblos of the kingdom.... The said cord was taken from pueblo to pueblo by the swiftest youths under the penalty of death if they revealed the secret. Everything being thus arranged, two days before the time set for its execution, because his lordship had learned of it and had imprisoned two Indian accomplices from the pueblo of Tesuque, it was carried out prematurely that night, because it seemed to them that they were now*

*discovered; and they killed religious, Spaniards, women, and children. This being done, it was proclaimed in all the pueblos that everyone in common should obey the commands of their father whom they did not know, which would be given through El Caydi or El Popé. ...As soon as the Spaniards had left the kingdom an order came from the said Indian, Popé, in which he commanded all the Indians to break the lands and enlarge their cultivated fields, saying that now they were as they had been in ancient times, free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards, who could not now be alive. He said that this is the legitimate cause and the reason they had for rebelling, because they had always desired to live as they had.... Thus he replies to the question.*

*Asked for what reason they so blindly burned the images, temples, crosses, and other things of divine worship, he stated that the said Indian, Popé, came down in person, and with him...other captains and leaders and many people who were in his train, and he Popé ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacrament.... They thereby returned to the state of their antiquity; ...that his was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, The Spaniard's God being rotten wood. These things were observed and obeyed by all except some who, moved by the zeal of Christians, opposed it, and such persons the said Popé caused to be killed immediately. He saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call estufas , and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil in order to dance the dance of the cacina; and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure....*

*Asked what arrangements and plans they had made for the contingency of the Spaniards' return, he said that what he knows concerning the question is that they were always saying they would have to fight to the death, for they do not wish to live in any other way than they are living at present; and the demons in the estufa of Taos had given them to understand that as soon as the Spaniards began to move toward this kingdom they would warn them so that they might unite, and one of them would be caught. He having been questioned further and ...he said that he has nothing more to say except that they should be always on the alert, because the said Indians were continually planning to follow the Spaniards and fight with them by night, in order to drive off the horses and catch them afoot, although they might have to follow them for many leagues. What he has said is the truth, and what happened, on the word of a Christian who confesses his guilt. He said that he has come to the pueblos through fear to lead in idolatrous dances, in which he greatly fears in his heart that he may have offended God, and that now having been absolved and returned to the fold of the church, he has spoken the truth in everything he has been asked. His declaration being read to him, he affirmed and ratified all of it. He declared himself to be eighty years of age, and he signed it with his lordship and the interpreters and assisting witnesses....*

Report of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otemín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682, Volume II, edited by George P. Hammond (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), pp. 245-49.

## Aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt

(Secondary Source)

*The following excerpts from Andrew K. Knaut's The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and Herbert Eugene Bolton's Spanish Borderlands are appraisals of the consequences of the Pueblo Revolt.*

...On November 5, 1681, Otermín set out on his mission of reconquest, leaving El Paso at the heard of 146 soldiers...and a handful of friars.... By January l, 1682, signs were evident that a massive Pueblo contingent stood poised to attack the governor's forces. Judging the reconquest a failure, Otermín ordered his forces back to El Paso.... Weeks of effort had yielded only the most superficial reconciliations with those few Pueblos encountered—and these most often were captives reasserting their loyalties to church and crown only under duress.

When interrogated, the captives painted vivid pictures of Pueblo efforts over the previous months to erase all memory of their years of contract with the Europeans. Many had followed Popé's instructions to wade into streams and scrub themselves with yucca root to wash away their Christian baptism. Still more had complied with orders sent out by the leader of the successful revolt that forbade Spanish ever again to be spoken in the land and called for all Pueblos to abandon their church-sanctioned spouses and return to the old ways of choosing their mates....

Traditional rivalries soon resurfaced to splinter the coalition that had expelled the Europeans. ...Popé's decrees grew increasingly reactionary, not only calling for the destruction of all signs of the former Spanish presence in the region but also forbidding the planting of any seeds introduced by the Europeans and demanding that his followers devote long hours to ceremonial practice. By the time of Otermín's arrival in November 1681, Luis Tupatú of Picurís had staged a successful coup against Popé, supplanting the medicine man as spokesman for the Pueblo confederation....

Infighting among the Pueblos deepened after Otermín's departure in early 1682, and a fresh outbreak of epidemic disease combined with renewed depredations by the region's Athapaskan groups [Apache and Navahos] to add considerably to the woes of the land.[1]

...For thirteen years the Indians held New Mexico. There was not a resident Spaniard north of the El Paso district. In 1692 Governor Diego de Vargas led an expedition for the reduction of the province. The reclamation and fortification of that territory, and the spread of Spanish rule beyond it, had again become vital. Vargas reconquered New Mexico with comparatively littlebloodshed; for most of the pueblos, taken by surprise, submitted without a blow. But when Vargas returned in 1693 with a colony of eight hundred settlers, the northern towns made a stiff resistance. It was not until the end of 1694 that they were conquered. Taos, where the old conspiracy had had its roots, was sacked and burned. The Indian warriors, taken prisoners in the battles, were executed; hundreds of women and children were made slaves. Once more in the following year did the Indians rise to repel the invader, but their strength was broken. A series of bloody campaigns by Vargas and his successor, Cubero, crushed at last their heroic spirit. The reconquest was complete, and Spanish rule was made secure exactly a century after it had first been established by Oñate.[2]

* * *

...The Turn of the eighteenth century in New Mexico brought with it a dramatic change in the course of Pueblo-Spanish relations that would carry the province through to the end of the colonial period. In the generations after Vargas's reconquest, toleration and cooperation to a degree unimaginable in the previous century underscored the interaction of the two peoples. Depredations beginning as early as 1706 by Comanche groups newly arrived in New Mexico added to the ongoing threat posed by the region's Athapaskans and galvanized a military alliance within the colony that saw Pueblo warriors cooperate closely with—and often outnumber—colonial militia in campaigns against the raiders. Recognizing the importance of that cooperation to the defense of the province, and hoping to avoid a resurfacing of the tensions that had sparked rebellion in 1680, colonial officials moderated the demands placed upon their Pueblo vassals....

The atmosphere of reduced tensions...allowed the Pueblos to continue relatively unfettered in their attempts to preserve traditional ways and beliefs....[3]

## Footnotes

[1] Lewis Hanke, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1965), p. 34

[1] Andrew L. Knaut, The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), pp. 173-175.

[2] Herbert Eugene Bolton., The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), pp. 180-181.

[3] Knaut, The Pueblo Revolt, pp. 184-185.

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